THE Nation

February 19, 1955
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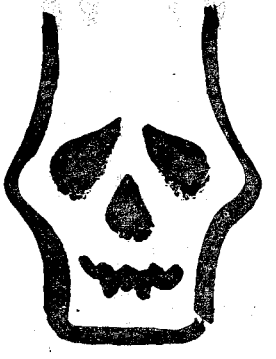
Peril from A-dust



by C. H. Waddington

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Case of Malcolm Cowley
John W. Aldridge

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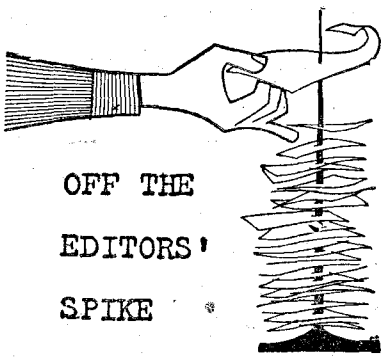

CRITICS OF the American free-enterprise system will be embarrassed to note that Raymond Spector, the advertising man responsible for the Hazel Bishop lipstick promotion—"The amazing new lipstick that stays on—and on—and on!"—is now "the richest man in the advertising business," having cleared $10,000,000 since 1949. In October, 1950, Hazel Bishop, Inc., had a net worth of $34,000; today its securities are valued at more than $12,000,000. Last year the company spent $4,500,000 on advertising, $4,000,000 on TV alone. All of which reminds one of Chester Bowles's comment that the bill for a good-sized Asian economic-aid program would come to about the same total as our annual cosmetics bill, advertising included. The free-enterprise critics, of course, will want to know what happened to Hazel Bishop herself. Well, Hazel was awarded $300,000 last year after a protracted minority-stockholders' suit, and Spector, once virtually sole owner, still retains 55 per cent of the company.

● With Formosa so much in the news, it is passing strange that the press paid such slight attention to Albert Ravenholt's story (*Washington Post*, February 4) on Chiang's guerrilla activities. Ravenholt, with the Chicago Daily News service, has been consistently more interesting on Formosa than other American correspondents. Writing from Manila, he reports that the coastal islands have been the base for extensive guerrilla operations against the mainland conducted by Chiang with American help. Under the euphemistic name of "Western enterprises," they have been supported by this country since 1950; some of the expeditions were actually directed by American personnel who had come to Formosa "only to do business," although the disguise was soon dropped. According to Ravenholt, this use of the coastal islands illustrates how our "covert operations abroad sometimes help create conditions within which an open American policy is forced to operate. And the American people may belatedly learn of total United States involvement."

● Addressing the Texas Bankers' Association in Dallas, Heinz Luedicke, editor of the Journal of Commerce, compares the current economic recovery to a camel's hump—a rise, followed by a drop, and a leveling off. His main point is that the sharp upturn in automobile production, which is pulling related industries such as steel, glass, rubber, and many others along with it, has an "artificial flavor." The fact is, of course, that Detroit has been turning out automobiles like crazy—over 600,000 in January alone, 160,000 in the last week of the month. At what Business Week calls the present "rampant rate" automobile output could total 8,500,000 cars this year; the most optimistic forecasts, however, place this year's market at some 5,800,000. Whether the major companies are getting set for a tie-up during this spring's collective-bargaining negotiations or not, the effect of the frenzied production schedule will be to "firm up" labor's insistence on the guaranteed annual wage. The current rate is certain to produce widespread unemployment later in the year. Underlying labor's growing interest in the guaranteed annual wage, noticeable in the automobile, railroad, rubber, textile, meat-packing, glass, and electrical unions, is the belated recognition that unions must nowadays participate in management; that production must be planned. As a postscript it might be noted that General Motors' profits in 1954 were the second highest in its history—$806,000,000, 34.8 per cent over 1953. With civilian sales down 6 per cent and military sales down 24 per cent from 1953 figures, the company's fine 1954 showing is to be explained, in large part, by a reduction of $219,528,449 in federal taxes, most of it through the expiration of the excess-profits tax.

● Every effort was made by the right-wing press, with active support in Congress, to play down Harvey Matusow's press conference in New York on February 3. A few hours before the interview began, Representative Francis E. Walter created a timely diversion by charging that Matusow was a Communist "plant." From Washington, too, came opportune threats against the publishers of Matusow's book. The conference itself was a wild, free-swinging affair in which Matusow was more at ease than some of his former newspaper friends, who, wild with rage, threw questions at him for an hour or so. Instead of asking him about his work as an informer, Victor Riesel, Jack Lotto, and some of the others wanted to know what he thought about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The question now arises: will the Department of Justice, which failed to take action against Whittaker Chambers, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, and Paul Crouch, proceed against Matusow, the one informer whose admission that he gave false testimony runs counter to "official policy"? The major test of the effect of Matusow's testimony will come, of course, in the Clinton Jencks case. Without the testimony that Matusow gave at the trial, Jencks could not have been convicted. Not to grant Jencks a new trial now that Matusow admits that his original testimony was in part false, would compound the injustice implicit in Jencks's conviction.

● In granting certiorari in the case of Dr. Harry Slochower, the Supreme Court has gained one more opportunity to reverse a course of decision-making that has largely undermined teacher-tenure codes. The issue will turn on the meaning of "academic due process." Was Dr. Slochower deprived of tenure without due process when the authorities, acting under the New York City Charter and Administrative Code, discharged him without a hearing? It is also important to note that the court has expressed an interest in the retroactive application of the Feinberg law. Associate professor of German at Brooklyn College, Dr. Slochower had had twenty-seven years of service in the New York public-school system. "Academic due process" is the issue around which the struggle to restore tenure is likely to be fought. This issue and its application to certain pending Philadelphia cases—the discharge of Dr. Barrows Dunham at Temple University, of three instructors at the Jefferson Medical College, and of twenty-seven teachers in the public schools—is ably discussed in a report, Academic Freedom: Some Recent Philadelphia Episodes, copies of which can be obtained at 25 cents each from the American Civil Liberties Union, Greater Philadelphia Branch, 260 South Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2.

C. McW.

CORRECTION

In THE NATION of November 13, 1954, it was stated that the Voice of America had been forbidden to broadcast to Europe the news that Professor Linus Pauling had won a Nobel prize. The statement was incorrect. The Voice did broadcast the fact to Europe, but when one of its European offices asked that Dr. Pauling be interviewed on the air, the request was refused. Dr. Pauling's name has cropped up in Congressional inquiries, and although nothing has been proved against him, he has been on the Voice's "controversial" list.

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THE Nation
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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Formosa Treaty

UNDER pressure of the Moscow and Formosa crises it was perhaps to be expected that the Senate would rush to ratify the defense treaty with Nationalist China with no apparent concern over what this country has let itself in for. Even the two amendments proposed by Senator Morse, qualifying somewhat our commitment to the Nationalists, were defeated by thumping majorities after a minimum of debate.

What we find more surprising and disturbing is the all but total lack of public interest displayed in the treaty's earlier stages. There was no public hearing. But also there was no demand for one. The clerk of the Foreign Relations Committee told a would-be witness that just two organizations has asked to be heard—the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party. Senators report a dearth of mail. The treaty might have been one to regulate postal rates between the contracting parties rather than to pledge American arms and resources in the defense of an Asian satellite engaged in a civil war—whose very claim to the island it rules is officially in question.

What opposition developed in committee was squelched by the adoption of an "understanding" to the effect that no military action in defense of other islands, such as Quemoy and Matsu, would be taken without the advance consent of the Senate. But this stipulation has no legal effect, and was not incorporated in the treaty.

In view of everything we think the six Senators who had the guts to vote against the treaty deserve honor and special mention. They are: Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Albert Gore and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Herbert H. Lehman of New York, Wayne Morse of Oregon, and William Langer of North Dakota.

Lethal Rain

THE importance of C. H. Waddington's piece on page 155 of this issue is highlighted by Commissioner Thomas Murray's comment of January 31 that the Atomic Energy Commission was sharply divided on a problem which could not be discussed publicly. On January 29, however, the A. E. C. announced that a super-super bomb, three times as powerful as the H-bomb, was now available. Could the unresolved issue be whether to stage further H-bomb tests this spring? Tests of this magnitude can only be carried out in the Pacific; there isn't enough "vacant" space elsewhere. Last year's disastrous experience, however, should have warned the Administration about the political consequences of further tests in that area; the possible biological consequences are suggested in Mr. Waddington's article. Incidentally, the California Civil Defense Office, which has access to some of the world's foremost authorities on radiation and other bomb effects, has announced that bomb fall-out can poison an area of 4,000 square miles. Fall-out may spread down-wind from H-bomb bursts in dangerous amounts for distances of 50 to 300 miles, and the fall-out path may vary from 10 to 50 miles in width.

But even the alarming California report may be on the optimistic side. Dr. Ralph E. Lapp writes in the current *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that a super-hydrogen bomb would contaminate 10,000,000 square miles, an area about the size of Maryland, with lethal radioactive fall-out, traces of which might remain in the area for fifty years. The scientist estimates that a "small-scale" attack with twenty-eight bombs would blanket 50,000,000 Americans and two thirds of the nation's industrial centers with lethal blast and fall-out.

Unity for What?

BECAUSE of bitter disputes over craft versus industrial unionism as well as divergent political views, back in 1935 a group of unions quit the A. F. of L. and formed the Committee for Industrial Organization; subsequently it became the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Last week, the C. I. O. returned to the "House of Labor"; it will retain its initials as a special department of the A. F. of L. but the name has again been changed to Council of Industrial Organizations.

Clearly, a united labor movement will bring positive benefits on a straight trade-union level. The way should be paved for joint organizing campaigns—and here labor is sorely in need of new momentum for its organizing drives in recent years have been woefully ineffective. It will mean joint negotiations where there are overlapping jurisdictions and should presage a continued decline in raiding and jurisdictional disputes.

The value of the merger in the broader field of political action is more questionable. Between the two organizations there are sharp differences on basic policies. A. F. of L.'s George Meany has rebuked President

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Eisenhower for talking of "coexistence." The C. I. O. has spoken eloquently for it. The A. F. of L. stand on China is rather to the right of the China Lobby. Influential C. I. O. leaders such as Emil Mazey, Walter Reuther's chief aide in the Auto Workers, and Victor Reuther, his brother, favor the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. On many key domestic questions, such as segregation, C. I. O. unions have been far ahead of the A. F. of L. both in concept and action. In the new organization, where the C. I. O. can be outvoted nearly two to one on the Executive Council, what will happen to more enlightened views? Will they be buried, shunted aside, in favor of "unity"? Or, in the end, will the C. I. O. people succeed in changing the A. F. of L.'s Neanderthal politics? Liberals everywhere will be watching carefully for the effect of the merger on the political attitudes of both groups.

More Words

The President's health message is so devoid of substance that it can be dismissed as little more than an essay in political rhetoric designed to assure the public that the Administration favors "health insurance." Read in connection with the budget message, it shows that the Administration would continue the current level of appropriations for general public-health services, hospital construction, and medical research with only moderate increases. Yet shortages in facilities continue to outpace current appropriations. For example, the proposed sum for health services in terms of per capita expenditures is only two-thirds of the average for the years 1948-52 and this despite the fact that forty million citizens, it is estimated, still live in areas without organized public-health services. Ignored is the problem of making up the deficit in physicians, nurses, dentists, and public-health officers. Ignored, too, is the key problem of how to meet the rising cost of medical care, with the exception of a limited measure of aid for recipients of public assistance and a mild "reinsurance" proposal designed to placate the rest of the population. In hearings before Congressional committees last year the experts were in substantial agreement that the Administration's reinsurance proposal would not accomplish its stated objectives. No verbal juggling can hide the fact that an adequate health program must be publicly financed and that it will cost a pretty penny, although the social dividends would be rich indeed. The President speaks, for example, of the "immense human waste and economic loss" of mental illness and of the great unmet needs in this field, despite current public and private expenditures of one and a half billion dollars a year. Yet the President's proposals would only add $15,000,000, or 1 per cent, to this total. This is not an unfair measure of the other improvements. With the exception of medical research, an area in which the President does propose that federal aid be

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expanded, his health program will neither eliminate the existing gaps and shortages in facilities and personnel nor meet the basic problem of rising medical costs.

The UHF Snafu

Two recent developments invest Hazel Cooley's article in this issue (p. 159) with special importance. One is the announcement by Senator Warren G. Magnuson that the Senate Commerce Committee will investigate monopoly trends in the broadcasting industry. In making the announcement Senator Magnuson released a report by Harry M. Plotkin, special counsel for the committee's study of television networks, which deals directly with the problem of ultra-high-frequency TV stations. The public is thus assured that the important UHF issue will now receive a thorough airing before an able committee assisted by expert counsel. The second development relates to the first. Recently the *Wall Street Journal* (January 19) told the story of how at least one UHF station, WVEC-TV in the Norfolk area, has managed to overcome most of the difficulties, described in Miss Cooley's timely article, which have beset UHF stations. As a first step Thomas P. Chisman, president of the company which operates the station, distributed kits to more than 1,000 television dealers and repair men in the area served by the station and explained how VHF sets could be converted to pick up UHF programs. Then he discovered a Long Island City manufacturer—Granco Products—that makes a do-it-yourself converter which sells for $29.95. The third step was to offer twenty of the biggest television dealers in the area free advertising over WVEC-TV if they would stock the new converter. Mr. Chisman reports that about 53 per cent of the 200,000-odd sets in the area can now receive the telecasts of his station in addition to those of the competing VHF station. The experience demonstrates the feasibility, given an aroused public opinion, of salvaging the great public-interest potential in UHF. The committee hearings should alert public opinion. In the meantime individuals and organizations interested in educational television—an issue related to UHF—should urge the committee to schedule hearings as promptly as possible.

Pennsylvania's Leader

Those concerned with improving that most backward part of our political system, state government, might keep an eye on Pennsylvania. Governor George Leader, elected last fall in an unprecedented sweep of a traditionally Republican state, has been devoting much of his time to a study of reports made by a nineteen-member advisory committee composed—shades of the New Deal!—entirely of professors. Most of these men were drawn from the institutes of state and local government at the University of Pennsylvania, Penn State, and the University of Pittsburgh. Each was assigned to study a department of government concerned with a field in which he had special knowledge; for example, former Surgeon General Thomas Parran, now dean of the graduate School of Public Health at Pittsburgh, reported on the Department of Health.

Additional fairly convincing proof of the young Governor's "vision" can be found in his appointment of Dr. James Charlesworth, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, to a new post of Cabinet rank, Secretary of Administration. Dr. Charlesworth is president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and author of a modern classic in the field, "Governmental Administration." The contrast betwen the Eisenhower Administration's reliance on the know-how of business men recruited for government and the Leader administration's consultation of university scholars may have consequences for the future of democratic government that will be interesting to observe. In any case, Mr. Leader has got off to an administrative start which picks up where his vigorous, principled campaigning left off last November.

Pennsylvania's new Governor showed himself in that campaign to be a fighting liberal and a vote-getter of extraordinary ability.

Two Strikes Against Egypt

IN the Middle East, where face-saving is the keystone of policy, Egypt's prestige has just suffered two heavy blows—both self-inflicted. The first resulted from its precipitate calling of a conference of the prime ministers of the Arab League countries in an attempt to delay Iraq's ratification of its treaty with Turkey. The conference ended in the kind of failure which spells the ultimate end of the league. That in itself is a net gain for the world, for the league's activities have been limited to its disastrous war against Israel and its subsequent refusal to end the war with a peace treaty. Suspicion and rivalry among the member states have prevented constructive action for the benefit of the region.

Iraq's Premier not only failed to make an appearance at the conference but the good-will mission sent to Iraq to work out a face-saving formula returned empty handed. Not even Egypt's threat of making a separate peace with Israel could save the day for Cairo. For the moment at least, Egypt has been displaced by Iraq as the leading power in the Arab world.

The most significant aspect of the meeting was Cairo's inability to rally the Arab states around the Arab Joint Defense Treaty as the basis of security measures in the Middle East. Iraq's defection will probably be followed by that of others, which will be lured to the West not by any genuine desire for an

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alliance but by the hope of getting free arms from the United States—arms which will be helpful to every government in keeping itself in power. An Arab arms race can be foreseen in the near future, augmenting political instability in an area where the primary need is a better standard of living for the impoverished population.

To Egypt's loss of face in the Arab world is now added the disillusionment of the democratic world with the Nasser regime as the result of the hanging of two Jews charged with being spies for Israel. There is no way at this distance of appraising the evidence against the two men, but in view of the nature of their offense, even as charged by the Egyptian authorities, their execution can only be described as sadistic. By refusing to temper justice with mercy in response to the pleas of governments and distinterested organizations and individuals, the Nasser regime lost a unique opportunity to convince world opinion that, although a military dictatorship, it is a responsible government seeking to establish decent standards. It may be assumed that this inhuman execution signifies both the shakiness of the regime and the ruthless measures Nasser and company are prepared to employ to remain in power.

Conscience requires that this crime against civilized concepts should not go unnoticed by the Western powers. The answer is certainly not to rush in with bribes of arms. This is the moment to make Western assistance conditional on peace with Israel—necessary both for regional stability and Western security.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

WHEN the news first reached Washington of Malenkov's fall and the upsurge of new forces in Russia, several Republican leaders were meeting, by coincidence, that same morning at the White House. Senator Millikin was asked by two reporters what he thought of events in Moscow. The chairman of the Republican conference committee shrugged his heavy shoulders, bowed by illness, and murmured that he really had no comment because he never attended the party conferences in Moscow and knew none of their secrets. Adorned by this glint of humility, his comment gained in wisdom and stature as other members of Congress made remarks that wavered uncertainly between the obvious and the obscure.

A few hours later the President's press secretary, Mr. Hagerty, had his usual morning conference. He remained a courteous enigma as questions thrust toward him. President Eisenhower was awaiting a report from Mr. Bohlen in Moscow; what had happened was primarily the concern of Russia; there was no need to get excited here.

At the State Department many officials were chuckling over Mendes-France's remark that he always had suspected that Russia suffered from an unstable system of government. Mr. Hagerty's example was receiving the tribute of imitation. All official comment was reserved for the President. Unofficially however there was some shrewd and penetrating speculation.

A few older hands recalled George Kennan's verdict, uttered several times in the State Department and at least twice to small groups of reporters, that Malenkov would be no more than a precarious and interim figure in the struggle for mastery in Russia. Mr. Kennan had summed up his views with the sardonic quip that government by committee could never last and that one could discover the true successor to Stalin only by standing outside a window in the Kremlin and counting the bodies as they whizzed past. These officials dismissed as premature all talk about a new Russia. They thought Russia would be shaken by recurrent crises before one dominant leader imposed his authority on the Kremlin and made all other rivals quail before his power. During this distracted interlude Russia might follow a strenuous diplomacy but would shrink from a display of force that would lead to war.

They also believed that there was some truth to the reports that growing discontent with agricultural policies had contributed to Malenkov's downfall. According to their analysis, Malenkov had never possessed ultimate power, any more than Molotov had done when he bore the name of premier at one stage of the Stalin era. It therefore was possible to strip Malenkov of the credentials of leadership as resentment grew against unpopular policies with which he was identified. They saw him overthrown for reasons of domestic policy rather than for any mortal blunder in foreign affairs.

Khrushchev by universal consent was acclaimed the master spirit. No one however dared to predict how long he would exercise the substance of power while foregoing its pomp and pageantry. Since Malenkov, unlike Beria, had no armed power at his call, he might safely be tolerated; provided he made no bid for control.

It took few inquiries to discover that the State Department was more interested in Molotov's speech than in Malenkov's fate. One group suggested that Molotov was trying to recover the diplomatic initiative from Chou En-lai; a judgment that made utterly absurd Mr. Walter S. Robertson's conviction that China's rulers only echo the commands of Moscow. Another and larger group of officials believed that the Molotov speech was intended to be a dramatic signal that Russia was going to reconsider its foreign policies, though it might be some months before these new principles would be firmly defined and clearly applied.

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This judgment obviously prevailed with President Eisenhower. Except for one important blemish, his answers at his press conference were admirable. He refused to see a sinister challenge in Molotov's statement. He declined to be frightened by Molotov's boasts about the hydrogen bomb. Nor did he try to admonish Russia with threats of America's atomic power. His recollection of his war-time partnership with Marshal Zhukov was like a sudden opening of friendship through the Iron Curtain. His one mistake was his rather embarrassed comment that he would have to consult his advisers before deciding whether it would be wise to renew the invitation to Zhukov to visit the United States. How much better it would have been if the message had gone to the world that the President did not know whether Zhukov still wanted to come, but he was certain that any Russian leader would be welcome in this country if he came on a mission of peace.

SENATOR KNOWLAND'S brief contribution to the debate on the Formosa treaty had at least one result: it deepened the confusion which already surrounds American policy. Senator George was trying to convince his colleagues that the treaty in no way confirmed Chiang Kai-shek's title to Formosa. He was making progress until Senator Knowland intervened with the warning that Chiang's authority had not been weakened by the treaty. Senator Alexander Smith agreed. Thus the two leading Republican supporters of Chiang publicly interpreted the policies of Mr. Dulles in a sense which contradicted the assurances and explanations privately given by the Secretary of State. To increase the perplexity, Senator George never challenged Senator Knowland and he allowed the meaning and scope of the treaty to remain vague and controversial.

It is apparent that different Senators, like different Ambassadors, have heard different stories from Mr. Dulles. No wonder Herbert Elliston could write in the Washington *Post* that "sophistry has long been the complaint about Mr. Dulles." Honor and logic alike prescribed a reservation in the treaty that the ownership of Formosa would remain an open question and that Quemoy and Matsu stood outside the immediate defensive obligations of the United States. Political realities, however, flashed their warning. At the mere sound of such a policy, the laboriously contrived unity of the Republican Party would have vanished; Chiang never would have accepted the changes. The treaty commanded a large majority only because its vagueness stilled present doubts without reducing future dangers.

INFORMERS who begin to inform on themselves paint a self-portrait that makes unnecessary any further stroke of angry criticism. As the squalid details of Harvey Matusow's career creep into light—he is loudmouthed only about the more spectacular chapters of his conduct—he stands revealed as a man who manipulated his mediocrity and mendacity into instruments of public abuse.

Without official support he would have been harmless. He was used by the Department of Justice and the Republican Party. That is the paramount fact which cannot be obscured by the department's delayed sense of outrage. The Senate inquiry will fail in its central purpose unless indignant Democrats and penitent Republicans find out why Matusow was believed and supported by anyone with power in Washington.

SOVIET SHAKE-UP

A Kremlin Counter-Threat? . . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

THOSE who thought that German remarmament could be achieved with little or no major world repercussions have now been confounded by events in Paris and Moscow. Of course no one familiar with the long debate that has been going on in the Soviet Union over agricultural production and the issue of heavy industry versus consumer goods will deny the important role played by internal Soviet affairs in last week's sensational developments. But the West, which has blundered many times in its interpretation of Soviet developments, would be committing still another blunder if it chose to dismiss last week's events as merely a consequence of domestic troubles and the conflict of ambitions among the heirs to Stalin. Similarly it would be oversimplification to ascribe Mendes-France's downfall to old rivalries and new envies among French politicians while overlooking the part played by the irreconcilable enemies of German rearmament who still wield great influence in France.

For weeks the Soviet press has been attacking the thesis that consumer goods should be given priority over heavy industry in Soviet factories. It was argued that such priority would endanger Soviet security at a time when, according to Russian commentators, the West was emphasizing the belligerent nature of the Atlantic Alliance by actions in Germany, Japan, and Formosa. At the same time the Soviet press has been campaigning against commodity speculators. There was an evident shortage of bread. The generally bad situation in agriculture was exposed with such bluntness that many Western diplomats were led to the erroneous conclusion that certain of the Soviet's recent "friendly" gestures in the international field represented a serious weakening in the internal structure of the country. The U. S. S. R. was

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being forced into "pacifist" gestures, so the diplomats argued, against its own will.

That the Western observers were wrong can be seen in the belligerent nature of the speeches before last week's session of the Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless the departing Premier, Georgi Malenkov, did make it plain that all was not well when in resigning he took upon himself the "guilt and responsibility" for the present state of Soviet agriculture—a target of sharp criticism in recent weeks by Nikita S. Khrushchev, head of the party. It must be remembered that earlier this year Khrushchev, addressing an audience of young men who were so soon to settle in Siberia, spoke hopefully of the prospects for increasing national strength by putting the plow to millions of uncultivated acres in northern Kazakstan, northern Siberia, and other Far Eastern regions which he had visited on his return from Peking. This visit to Peking must be kept in mind in view of the Formosa crisis and of the emphasis placed upon Sino-Russian friendship by every speaker at the Soviet parliament. Bulganin, the new Premier, accompanied Khrushchev to China's capital, and both men are apparently convinced that the Soviet Union could not remain passive in case of an attack by a major power upon the Chinese mainland.

Industrial, agricultural, and administrative problems all played a the Moscow shake-up was also closely related to the increasing international tensions which followed the London and Paris agreements to rearm Germany, President Eisenhower's message on Formosa, and the American Congress's approval of that message in the form of a resolution. It is perhaps too early to tell whether the changes in Russia mean a return to one-man leadership in the person of Khrushchev or the strengthening of collective leadership now represented by Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Marshal Voroshilov (an old friend of Stalin's) and Marshal Zhukov, the new Minister of Defense. The latter is far more likely. Molotov, who retains his foreign ministry, is aided by men who feel that there are limitations to the policy of coexistence and that German rearmament and Western support of Chiang Kai-shek represent threats which cannot be met by a world-peace campaign.

Months ago, when Malenkov's position still appeared firm, many European experts on Russian affairs warned in so many words that his days were numbered if the West did nothing to make his "conciliatory" policy a success. It has now been revealed that German and Japanese rearmament, as well as the Formosa crisis, have been subjects of constant discussion among Soviet leaders. Men like Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Molotov consistently tended to discount President Eisenhower's repeated references in his press conferences to coexistence and peace. The Molotov speech before

Premier Bulganin

the Soviet parliament—a speech which should be read carefully—reveals clearly the mistrust with which the Soviet Union has been viewing the West's official pacifism. The attacks by several speakers on Vice-President Nixon, Admiral Radford, and other Americans whom the Russians class as "warmongers" confirm the reports by Western diplomats from Moscow that the Russian leaders are not willing to depend upon the peaceful intentions of President Eisenhower, even when they concede that these intentions are sincere. They fear the power of his Congressional opponents.

It must be emphasized that from all appearances Malenkov has been displaced but not purged. Even before the announcement of his new jobs of Deputy Premier and Minister of Power, he appeared both in the Soviet parliament and in public together with Khrushchev, and pains were taken to show that the relationship between the two men were still cordial.

WHAT has happened in the Kremlin must not be construed as a slamming of the door on any opportunity for arriving at an East-West *modus vivendi*. In an interview granted on the eve of the dramatic changes, Molotov told William Randolph Hearst, Jr., that "the Soviet Union is interested in reducing tensions everywhere" while Khrushchev told the American journalist that the Soviet leadership wanted to see the struggle between capitalism and communism kept on the level of "competitive coexistence." "If we can coexist around this table," he said, coming down to brass tacks, "I should think we could coexist around the globe." Several speakers before the Soviet parliament, notably Molotov and Marshal Konev, coupled their boasts of Soviet strength with declarations of peaceful intent. Nevertheless the events in Moscow last week serve to warn the West that if it is interested in arriving at an agreement with the Russians it must use more diplomatic instruments than those represented by twelve German divisions and the Seventh Fleet.

The Western strategy of strength helped in Paris no more than it helped in Moscow. The ultimate cause of Mendes-France's downfall was his advocacy of German rearmament. A man of extraordinary talents, he nevertheless failed to perceive that only by assuming the leadership of the opposition to German rearmament could he create the kind of popular support he needed to keep in office. Having failed on the main issue, he moves out of the French government leaving behind a hose of other issues unresolved. His successor will have no easy time trying to contain the Vietminh or the powerful nationalist drive in Tunisia. We shall see in the near future how the Moscow developments will affect the French attitude toward the German rearmament problem. In Paris as everywhere else events turn around Germany as the fateful hub of world affairs.

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PERIL FROM A-DUST

A Threat to Mankind . . *by C. H. Waddington*

Edinburgh, Scotland

IF ATOMIC bombs are ever used against centers of population, the immediate results will be so stupendous and mind-chilling that there is a temptation to pay little attention to their less dramatic long-term effects. Everyone knows by now that besides the blast, the heat, and so on of the actual explosion the bombs produce a great quantity of radioactive material. Within a range of a hundred miles or so of the explosion this radioactive material comes to earth in quantities sufficient to produce sickness or possibly death in all living creatures exposed to it. Smaller quantities of radioactive substances may be carried long distances in the upper atmosphere and come down again in far distant places, but not in high enough concentration to cause any immediately obvious signs of ill health. Can they therefore be disregarded? I think all biologists who have looked into the matter agree that the answer is definitely no. Admittedly, with our present state of knowledge it is difficult to state exactly what such small quantities of radioactive material might be expected to do to human beings, but there is only an exceedingly slim chance that their effects would not be, in the long term, extremely harmful. Until a great deal more research has been carried out with the specific object of discovering what the effects actually are, it would be criminally foolhardy not to take them into most careful consideration when planning experimental atomic explosions.

Radioactive material produces its long-term biological effects by influencing the genes, the essential hereditary factors which an individual receives from his parents. In the normal way genes are fairly stable, although as they are passed on from generation to generation any given gene may occasionally change into another form, an occurrence known as mutation. The rate at which a gene mutates is so low that it is very difficult to estimate it, particularly for animals like man which cannot be experimented with on a large scale. But this low rate is in a way compensated for by the fact that both the egg and the sperm, which unite to form a new individual, contain a large number of different genes. The current estimate is that in man each gene under normal circumstances mutates once in some tens of thousands of lifetimes, and again that each individual contains a few tens of thousands of genes.

It is probable, then, that on the average a considerable fraction of all human individuals contain one newly mutated gene. Now all our animal experimentation suggests that the vast majority of these newly arisen forms of genes are less valuable than the original and common form. It is fairly obvious that this must be so. If a particular gene can exist in a number of forms, the individuals which contain the most valuable type will be the ones which will survive and reproduce more rapidly. Over the ages the best form of the gene will become the commonest—which is one way of stating Darwin's principle of natural selection.

The less valuable forms of genes, are gradually eliminated by natural selection—that is, through competition with the original better forms. One can in a rough and ready fashion classify these mutated genes into two types according to the effect they produce in the animals that contain them. Every animal has a certain factor of safety in that it contains two of each type of gene, one derived from its mother and one from its father. If only one of these two is a mutated gene, the animal sometimes shows no ill effects from it. The mutated gene in this case is said to be recessive. It gives no sign of its presence until an individual arises in which both representatives of the gene are of the mutated type; then the individual is likely to be rather highly abnormal—for example, an albino, a diabetic, or with some other well-marked deficiency in functioning. With the other class of genes, known as dominants, some effect, perhaps of a relatively slight kind, is produced even in individuals which contain one normal and one mutated gene. In either case, the individuals which show the effects of the mutated genes are likely to be less healthy and effective than the norm. The difference is that the dominant genes begin to make their presence felt immediately, while newly mutated recessive genes may persist in a population for many generations before at last an individual appears containing two of them, when he will exhibit the full intensity of their effect.

NOW to get back to the atom bomb. Radioactivity causes an increase in the mutation rate in all animals or plants on which it has been tested. It seems most probable, indeed, that the natural mutations which are occurring all the time in all organisms are partly if not wholly brought about by the basic radioactivity which is an inescapable feature of the earth's surface. Any increase in this radioactivity, caused for instance by the explosion of atomic bombs, would be expected to be followed by some increase in mutation. And the vast majority of the excess mutated genes would be harmful ones. That is the basic picture to which modern biology leads.

One can, however, if one is very optimistic and ingenious, think of ways in which this unpleasant conclusion might conceivably be escaped. It is not that we know some positive facts which suggest ways of escape but rather that the whole of this field is so difficult to investigate

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"Don't be frightened. They say it's quite safe."

that there are still large areas of ignorance in which the optimist can take refuge. For instance, he might ask: is it really true that any increase in radioactivity, however small, will cause an increase in the mutation rate, or is there some threshold of radioactivity which must be exceeded before the effect is produced? Most experiments to discover the influence of radioactivity on mutation have used rather heavy doses of irradiation, so as to produce large and easily appreciated effects. Only when the biological part of the experiment has been very quick and cheap have we been able to accumulate much information about low irradiation doses. We are fairly certain that there is no radiation threshold in such organisms as bacteria, molds, or even flies, and that any dose, however low, will produce some increase in mutation. But it is just possible that the situation is different in more highly evolved animals. It is, of course, impossible to make a direct test on man, but we ought certainly to find out what the situation is in some animal reasonably similar to him, such as the mouse or the guinea pig.

So far as I know, the only experiment going on anywhere in the world on the effects of low doses of irradiation on the mutation rate of an animal reasonably similar to man is one that has been carried on in my laboratory in Edinburgh for the last seven years by a group under Dr. T. C. Carter. This group has been using the mouse as the experimental animal. The effects they are looking for are of course very small—a mere slight increase, possibly a doubling, of the natural mutation rate. The number of animals involved in such an experiment is pretty astronomical. So far some 25,000 mice have been bred and inspected, and still no very definite answer can be announced. There is as yet no evidence suggesting the existence of a threshold. In point of fact, we are not really expecting to find one. We are more concerned to discover whether low doses of irradiation increase the mutation rate in exactly the proportion as do high doses, or whether the low doses are proportionately more, or less, effective than might be expected. I am glad to say that interest in this subject is increasing, and the group is now moving into premises of its own, from which it may hope to produce some really useful information in five or six years.

Even with this expansion, the amount of scientific-research effort being put into such questions is trifling in comparison with their importance for the human race as a whole. Dr. Carter's group have got the resources to tackle only the technically easiest aspect of the matter—namely, mutations which produce very striking and easily recognizable effects. It is likely that there are vastly more mutations producing much slighter harmful effects, but we have no real knowledge of this, and so far as I know no one is studying the matter.

ANOTHER argument for what one can call the optimistic view might be the suggestion that the mutation-producing effect of an exposure to irradiation only lasts for a certain length of time, and that children conceived later would not carry more than their normal share of mutated genes. Now there may be something in this argument. We know that in flies the future germ cells are particularly sensitive to irradiation at certain stages of their development. If a fly is irradiated, there will be a particularly heavy crop of new mutations in individuals conceived from the germ cells which were at their most sensitive stage at the time when the irradiation took place. We still have no knowledge whether such a situation holds in mammals at all, let alone when exactly the sensitive periods occur. Again, an experiment on the subject is being made in my laboratory, but on a pathetically small scale. One cannot argue that there might be "safe periods" with respect to irradiation unless one knows when they are.

Still another line of argument would proceed as follows: It would say that the whole of evolution so far has depended on the fact that the natural process of mutation produces not only a large number of genes which are worse than the normal but also a small number which are better. We might hope, therefore, that increasing the mutation rate would speed up the appearance of useful new mutations; so that the population could improve faster under the brutal but beneficent influence of natural selection. As regards human affairs it is of course a very open question whether the appearance of new favorable gene

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mutations is at all important for our future evolution. Man has developed an alternative method of passing on new things to his descendants. To endow future generations with the capacity to fly he does not have to wait for gene mutations which convert his arms into wings; he invents the airplane and teaches future generations to make it.

But even if, laying these considerations on one side, we suppose that the occurrence of gene mutations would allow human evolution to go on appreciably faster, is it a fact that irradiation would speed up the process? To answer this we need to know what actually happens to the new genes when one irradiates, not experimental animals whose breeding is carefully controlled, but all members of a population, who are free to mate with one another as they please. Experiments along these lines have used only the cheaper and simpler animals. Buzatti-Traverso and Scossirolli in Italy have claimed that when they subjected a population of flies to a high dose of irradiation they found it easier to improve a certain character by selection. However, Robertson and Clayton in my laboratory did not obtain the same result, though plenty of harmful mutations occurred; and Bruce Wallace of Cold Spring Harbor, New York, who has studied the general fitness of individuals in an irradiated population, has shown that the situation is a highly complex one which we certainly do not fully understand, even for relatively simple animals like flies. So far I do not know of any such experiment having been made with animals more closely comparable to man. Again, the expense and the time involved are beyond the capacity of the ordinary biological laboratory, but in my view are part of the collective social responsibility toward future generations of any society which is using atomic energy and contemplating the release of radioactive substances into the air.

That last sentence is, I think, the key to the whole situation. The major physical contribution of our generation to the human story is the release of atomic energy. We are all very conscious of the dangers which it carries to ourselves, but if the threat were confined to our own generation, or to any one generation in the future, it would take a relatively minor place in the long-term future of the human race. All the available evidence, however, makes it seem overwhelmingly probable that any atomic explosion which produces an increase in radioactivity, however small, in regions inhabited by man will add something to humanity's store of newly mutated and mostly harmful genes.

Since this is the picture which the available data suggest, we should obviously weigh most carefully the value of the knowledge to be acquired by experimental atomic explosions against the cost in human suffering if radioactive substances are allowed to get into inhabited areas. It is surely a moral responsibility of our time to recognize how incomplete our present knowledge of the situation is and to take steps to add to it as fast as possible. It may be that in the course of such investigations we shall discover that the danger is not so great as we now think; or some means may be found for circumventing it. In this article I have put forward all the arguments I can think of which tend to minimize the danger, but none of them seems to hold out much hope. Even if we cannot discover a cure for the ills that we may be inflicting on future generations, we ought at least to take trouble to find out what they are, so that we can decide how far we shall go in running up biological debts which our descendants will have to pay.

LADEJINSKY'S REAL ROLE

Footnote to an Incident . . *by Helen Mears*

THE Ladejinsky affair calls attention to certain dubious elements in our Asian economic programs. During recent months the newspapers have reported statements by our most influential spokesmen to the effect that the government intends to "save" Indo-China and the rest of "free Asia" for the "free world." Only two ways of doing this have been mentioned, one being to gain the allegiance of the Asian government and peoples by helping them raise their standard of living, and the other to use military force to prevent the triumph of communism. Which method do we prefer? Apparently the second, since in planning our economic programs for Asia we seem intent on advancing our own assumed economic, strategic, and military interests rather than on helping to correct the region's basic economic problems.

When Wolf Ladejinsky was dismissed from his job as agricultural attache in Tokyo, his defenders argued that he was our major expert on Asian "land reform," that his policy of "breaking up the big Japanese landed estates" had saved Japan from communism, and that his dismissal would convince the Asian peoples that the United States government was no longer concerned about Asian agricultural problems. The insistent expression of these opinions by some highly respectable Republicans brought about the appointment of Mr. Ladejinsky, this time by the Foreign Operations Administration, to the post of land-reform expert in Vietnam, apparently on the assumption that having saved Japan from communism he could repeat that miracle

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in Indo-China. Since Mr. Ladejinsky presumably knows what our land reforms in Japan actually accomplished, he must view this new assignment with some trepidation.

I must point out here that one can hardly say Mr. Ladejinsky helped to break up the big Japanese landed estates, since there were no such estates to break up. The United States directive applied to all farms of *more than two and a half acres*—except in the northern island, where larger holdings were allowed. Japan's agricultural problem did not lie in the size of the estates but in the scarcity of arable land. In 1946, when the American land-reform program became law in occupied Japan, a population of around 78,000,000 had only some 16,000,000 acres of farmland on which to grow food. Today the population is more than 88,000,000, and it still has only 16,000,000 acres of farmland.

The expressed purpose of the American reforms was to make it possible for tenant farmers to buy land, to restrict ownership of farmland largely to working farmers, and to protect tenants by a variety of devices, including the requirement that rents must be paid in money and not in rice. This was sensible enough in theory, but given the actual situation in Japan, the reforms were more disruptive than helpful. By 1951 the Japanese government had acquired almost five million acres for resale at fixed prices to former tenants, which meant that a lot of land changed ownership. The net result, however, was to increase the fragmentation of land holdings and thus the number of farm families who could not support themselves on their farms. In 1954, according to a report by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 1,976 farm households farmed from one and a quarter to two and a half acres, and only 95 households farmed more than twelve acres. The farm population today is kept going by government price supports and by make-work projects, such as road construction, which provide supplementary employment.

JAPAN'S agricultural problem is one of foreign exchange. Before the war the Japanese imported around 20 per cent of their food. They could buy a good share of it, however,

from the yen-bloc countries—Manchuria and Korea and of course Formosa, which was considered an integral part of Japan. Allied wartime decisions took away all Japan's overseas territories and destroyed the yen bloc. In consequence the Japanese must today import a much larger amount of food and pay for all of it in foreign exchange. To get foreign exchange they must make and sell goods, but they must also import most of the raw materials for these goods. This puts a great burden on their export industries, which must earn enough to pay both for raw materials and for essential food. The size of the problem is suggested by the fact that in 1953 rice and wheat made up 54 per cent of Japan's total imports.

Since the end of the war Japan has imported a very large part of its food from the United States. During the occupation some food was given to the Japanese people, but most of Japan's imports of food from us have been paid for by the government and the people. There is a popular notion that we have generously given from our surpluses to the needy Japanese. The fact appears to be that American taxpayers have been very generous to American farmers. Our deals with Japan have been largely on a commercial basis.

Mr. Ladejinsky was engaged in furthering these transactions. Defending his qualifications for the job of agricultural attache, he is reported to have said that since 1953 he had helped sell to Japan more than $480,000,000 worth of wheat, cotton, soy beans, rice, tobacco, and other commodities; in fact, he had "initiated the surplus deals." He added that for this reason his record until recently was evaluated as "excellent" and "outstanding" and was held up as a model to other agricultural attaches. In short, the ideal American agricultural attache is a glorified salesman for our surplus agricultural products. That is a useful job of course, but to sell surplus commodities at world prices is profitable business, not "economic aid." And such a program in no way solves Japan's basic economic problems.

MOREOVER, our most recent "economic aid" program for Japan encourages the charge that we are using it as a device to build up Japan's armed forces. This interpretation is supported by a dispatch in the New York *Times* of January 12 headlined: "U. S. Wheat Helps Arming of Japan. Proceeds of Sale of Surplus Grain Returned to Tokyo to Aid Defense Plants."

This program was initiated as part of the mutual-security pact signed in March, 1954, but the details have only recently been accepted by the Japanese Cabinet. Japan has agreed to buy up to $50,000,000 worth of wheat and barley at world prices and to pay for it by depositing 18,250,000,000 yen to the account of the United States in the Bank of Japan. The Japanese government will sell this grain to the people at fixed prices, and the yen received will be applied to the sum paid to the United States.

On a quick glance the plan seems to have merit, since it bypasses the foreign-exchange problem. Examined more attentively, however, it reveals a number of dubious features. It gives the United States government control of a large amount of Japanese currency, which means giving the United States considerable control over the development of the Japanese economy. The United States is using this control to step up Japanese military production. As announced on January 12, the agreement provides that the United States will "funnel directly into strategic plants" the equivalent of $10,000,000 in yen to finance the manufacture of ammunition, fuses, and electronic devices. The United States will use the equivalent of

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$40,000,000 in yen to buy Japanese goods for its "allies." Although no official breakdown has been made public, a New York *Times* correspondent in Japan reported that these goods would be mostly "military hardware."

There is another difficulty. Although by accepting payment for the grain in yen the United States relieves Japan's dollar shortage, its action will in the long run aggravate Japan's over-all foreign-exchange problem. The United States will use these yen to buy military hardware to export to our allies. And in order to manufacture these military supplies the Japanese must import most of the basic raw materials for them and must pay in foreign exchange. This means that although they do not pay us foreign exchange directly, they pay it indirectly. In effect the United States is using wheat and barley as currency with which to buy manufactures made from imported raw materials.

This particular deal is not an isolated error. It was used as a model for the aid agreement drawn up during former Premier Yoshida's recent visit, under which Japan will buy $85,000,000 worth of agricultural supplies at world prices and pay in yen, and the United States will provide another $15,000,000 worth of "surplus and F. O. A. help in launching a productivity program." This agreement will give the United States an additional balance in Japan of around 30,500,000,000 yen. How the United States will use these vast sums was suggested by Clarence E. Meyer, who headed an F. O. A. mission to Japan last December. A little more than half, he said, would be used for loans to promote "economic development" in Japan; the equivalent of $5,500,000 would finance procurement of commodities for shipment to our allies; and the equivalent of $20,000,000 would pay for United States expenses in Japan, including construction of housing for the military, exchange of students under the Fulbright program, and some expenses of the Information Agency.

Japan's economic problems are complex and serious. For almost a decade the United States has been grappling with them. It is reasonable to suppose that Asian leaders will consider our aid programs for Japan a measure of our grasp of Asian problems and a sample of the methods we mean to employ to solve them. The record suggests that our basic "reforms" are not practical, that our "aid" is designed to solve our own economic problems rather than Japan's, and that it will be used increasingly to expand Japan's military production and build up its armed forces and those of our Pacific allies. In brief, our economic-aid programs seem to be put forward not as an alternative to war but as a preparation for war. Communist propaganda of course charges us with just that.

MONOPOLY IN TV

Stifling the UHF Bands . . *by Hazel Cooley*

WHETHER television in this country is to be limited to twelve channels in the very high frequencies (VHF) or will be permitted to serve its audience with eighty-two channels through use of the ultra high frequencies (UHF) will depend on what action is taken by the Senate subcommittee on communications and the Federal Communications Commission. If viewers are to be deprived of the great diversity of programming that eighty-two channels could bring them, they should know why.

One reason apparently is legislative indifference to the unequal treatment of UHF and VHF broadcasters, and to the fact that more than $500,000,000 invested by the people in UHF channels may be lost. Another is public apathy; most viewers seem completely unaware of the situation. At least, they have not protested against the second-class status of 85 per cent of the country's potential television channels. As a result there is the imminent possibility that television will henceforth be controlled by the two major networks; in which case programming suited to a particular community and also educational television will be relegated to the might-have-beens.

In May and June of 1954 the subcommittee on communications of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee held public hearings at the Capitol on the status and development of ultra-high-frequency television channels. Station owners broadcasting in the ultra-high-frequency band testified as to handicaps under which they suffered. Remedial measures seemed imperative. So far, however, no relief has been forthcoming from the F. C. C. or the subcommittee, though Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock of the F. C. C. bluntly stated: "What is happening to UHF is the most serious blow to the public interest which I have witnessed in over six years of commission membership." The argument is not that VHF broadcasters are more successful. It is rather that as F. C. C. rules are at present interpreted and enforced, UHF broadcasters don't have a chance to survive.

The original channels set aside for television, numbered 2 through 13, were in the very high frequency band, or VHF. To provide space for more channels a new band was opened, known as ultra high frequency, or UHF. This comprised channels 14 through 83. The Communications Act of 1934 gave to the F. C. C. the full responsibility of making available to the people of

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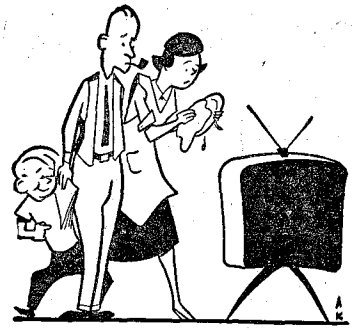

the United States a nation-wide efficient radio and television service. The sixth report and order of the commission, in 1952, stated:

> The commission has always recognized that even with an extensive scattering of VHF assignments, the twelve channels available are not sufficient to meet the objective of providing TV service to all of the people. With the additional UHF channels, however, the commission . . . has gone far in fulfilling the needs of individual communities. . . . And it has attempted where possible to provide each community with at least two assignments.

Implicit in the foregoing is the admission that the existing VHF channels are inadequate to serve properly the entire country. Implicit, too, throughout the sixth report and its allocation plan was acceptance of UHF as a vital new force. Pioneers going into UHF did so on the strength of these implicit conclusions. They felt they had a fighting chance of success. Experience has now proved that UHF station owners cannot compete with VHF owners. Without legislation to equalize their positions, UHF is doomed, and the entire industry will be controlled by a few privileged owners.

The first time national legislation was required by the broadcasting industry was in the early 1920's, with the advent of radio. Everyone wanted a receiving set; many wanted to broadcast. The air was full of squeals and squeaks; one broadcaster jammed the signal of another. The Radio Act of 1927 established order in the air waves. It gave to every broadcaster an air lane on which it alone had the right to send its programs. This was done by having each station operate on a different frequency.

The Second World War retarded the development of both radio and television; war-time restrictions on materials and lack of man-power made operation difficult. After the war there was a rush to license new stations. Before the war-time experimentation the air space through which radio frequencies travel in the order of their wave length, called the spectrum, was felt to be useful -from the 10 kilocycle band up to 300 megacycles. Advances made during the war permitted use of the higher reaches of the spectrum.

In 1945 there were nine television stations; in 1946 there were more than fifty. Then suddenly, owing to high construction costs and disputes in the industry, the rush to file for TV licenses slackened. Some companies wanted television introduced immediately in the lower frequencies; others urged waiting for the ultra high frequencies that would be possible when the secret war-time developments could be utilized. A short wait, they argued, would see color television ready for broadcast on the ultra high frequencies. Then manufacturers could market a set that would receive either black-and-white or color television.

By September, 1948, when the F. C. C. issued its "freeze" order on the licensing of new stations, there were 108 TV stations in operation. The commission felt it essential to study the whole picture of allocations, rules, regulations, and so on before making further commitments. It wanted to provide for a nation-wide competitive service which would make operating assignments available in every community in sufficient number to offer a choice to both the listener and those interested in broadcasting service.

This period of no-licensing continued until April, 1952. Then the F. C. C. issued its sixth report and order, with an allocations plan showing assignments in both the VHF and UHF bands. Color television was declared insufficiently tested at that time to give a satisfactory service.

THIS was when the UHF troubles began. In April, 1952, there were approximately eighteen million TV sets in use, all designed to receive VHF channels only, for up to then only the one system existed. This meant that before a single UHF station was on the air, the VHF stations were ahead eighteen million viewers, multiplied by the average number of people who generally watch one set. In May, 1954, two years later, there were 31,379,000 receivers in the hands of the public, of which only 3,000,000 could receive UHF channels. Yet UHF channels represent 85 per cent of all television allocations.

With more than thirty-one million sets able to pick up VHF broadcasts and only three million attuned to UHF channels, it is understandable why the networks are not interested in UHF. Networks hook up one station with another, clear across the country. They carry national programs for national advertisers, and these are the sustenance of commercial broadcasting stations. Stations live or die depending on their ability to sell their time to the networks. National advertisers are interested in the largest possible audience.

Experience has shown that even if a UHF station has network connections, the network switches when a new VHF station comes into the area. "Discrimination" against the U's has carried over into local advertising. For instance, a UHF station may have been catering to a local food broker. The broker recommends the station to the manufacturer of a food product in the East. Knowing nothing about the service of the local station, the manufacturer says, "We don't use UHF stations"; he would not share the cost of the advertising unless it was over a VHF station.

UHF is more costly than VHF—transmitting equipment, receiving sets, and conversion devices. There is also the complication of another antenna and lead-in, with specific adjustments.

Faulty equipment, delivery delays, lack of familiarity with UHF sets on the part of servicing mechanics have added to the woes of the UHF pioneers. In one city the UHF station could not reach into a neighboring area because its signal was too weak. Before it could get delivery of a higher-powered transmitter, a VHF station came into the area and people bought VHF-only sets. When the UHF station is eventually able to extend its signal, there will be only VHF receivers, and the conversion process will begin over again.

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Set manufacturers have not begun to produce enough all-channel receivers. The expectations of the F. C. C. when it formulated its 1952 report have not been fulfilled. The report said: "It is reasonable to assume that . . . television receivers will be built to receive VHF and UHF signals." It also said: "It will be possible to operate stations in the UHF band with 400 kilowatts radiated power by the time authorizations are issued for such stations. Further, there is no reason to believe American science will not produce the equipment necessary for the fullest development of UHF." Yet it was testified at the Senate subcommittee hearings in 1954 that "in the opinion of the experts, no sincere effort has been made by leading manufacturers to produce UHF receiver tubes and circuitry capable of adequate performance."

THE difference in coverage, or power, is a considerable part of the inequality between the two systems. The coverage of VHF stations in many cases is three to four times as large as that of UHF stations. This applies to both the distance from the transmitter and the solidity of the coverage, which derives from the superior power and antenna heights allowed VHF stations. A low-band VHF signal can reach a greater area regardless of topography and easily blanket the UHF signals. Most UHF stations are within the service areas of large VHF stations, and with this overlap the UHF does not have a chance. For example, the comparative value of a signal at 60 megacycles as against one at 600 megacycles is readily seen. The difference may not be precisely ten to one, but there is surely a vast inequality in signal strength even a short distance from the originating point. While the F. C. C. allowed for this by permitting greater power to UHF stations, equipment has not yet been produced to radiate this permissible power.

This original inequality has been increased by the new policy of the F. C. C., adopted August 4, 1954, which gives all stations the right to extend their service through satellite stations. If the privilege had been confined to UHF stations, it might have been a means of equalizing the opportunities of the two systems.

Many other complaints of the UHF broadcasters were aired at the hearings. One concerned the "drop-in" device—a procedural short-cut in filing for license whereby an established station gets another station "dropped into" the same broadcasting band to reinforce its position. This certainly is not in the public interest.

The experience of the UHF stations practically duplicates that of FM radio, which was left in the position of an auxiliary service to AM (regular) broadcasting. It is true that many AM station owners became FM license owners too, but this could have been a form of insurance, since at the beginning no one knew how far FM might go. FM radio, with its higher fidelity, cheaper operation, and space in the spectrum to accommodate four to five thousand stations, never realized its potentials. Now that they have the advantage of hindsight, why are the policy makers in Washington so slow to take steps to keep the television industry from becoming a monopoly and to save the UHF system from becoming another auxiliary, like FM radio.

Various emergency measures have been proposed: require that all new television sets be equipped to pick up all channels and color; confine color broadcasting to UHF channels; authorize satellites and boosters for UHF stations only; freeze new VHF construction permits until competitive opportunities between VHF and UHF stations are equalized; or, in lieu of a freeze, stop drop - outs, drop - ins, and "quickie" grants for VHF; reduce VHF transmitter power to prevent "blanketing" of UHF signals; locate transmitters as near as possible to the center of the city to which the channel is assigned to prevent "straddling" two or more cities and conform with the allocation plan; transfer all television broadcasting to the UHF band.

THE problem is complicated but not insoluble. And the time to act is now, for another phase of television must be considered. If UHF goes down the drain, so will our chance to benefit from a nation-wide system of educational television.

In the F. C. C.'s sixth report and order, 251 assignments, or about 12 per cent of the total were reserved for education, 83 of these in the VHF and 168 in the UHF bands. Thus about two-thirds of all the educational assignments are in the ultra high frequencies. The need for education today is as great as it was to the people of the nation 130 years ago when the struggle for the free public-school system began. It extends from illiterates who must start from scratch to our busiest industrial and government executives. The demands on people's time makes it impossible for them to keep informed on subjects vital to their interests through reading. Bringing such knowledge into the home or office by television could be a tremendous service. It would be possible through the use of educational channels.

If the government would allocate funds for the development of a national educational television system, the UHF would undergo a life-giving transfusion. Its educational outlets, offering a non-commercial, non-competitive service to all the people, would create a new audience almost immediately. This audience would tune in for the specific purpose of learning. The impetus thus given to the growth of UHF channels would cause many of the difficulties that the pioneering UHF broadcasters have known to disappear. The basic premise that the air waves should be used for the public interest would then become a reality.

An Old Complaint

Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith and of public and personal liberty . . . that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true . . . In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a . . . remedy for the diseases most incident to . . . government.—Publius; the FEDERALIST, No. 10, by James Madison.

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BOOKS

The Case of Malcolm Cowley

THE LITERARY SITUATION. By Malcolm Cowley. The Viking Press. $3.75.

By John W. Aldridge

THE historical method in criticism, which over the past several years Malcolm Cowley, among others in this country, has vigorously simplified into popularity, is not one we take much serious stock in, although its lineage is long and for the most part distinguished, and its influence in shaping mass standards of literary opinion has always been very great. Its primary appeal for the public mind undoubtedly stems from the fact that throughout its course it has interested itself steadily in something other than literature – in society rather than in art, in the psychology of the producer rather than in the work produced—with the result that it has come to represent a kind of epicurean Y. M. C. A. for those who have aspired and failed to win membership in the international fraternity of taste.

Since the twenties and thirties the historical method has declined seriously in authority and influence, becoming more and more the critical palliative of the mass reading public and the grubstake of those literary backwoodsmen who spend their time between trips across the wide Missouri haranguing novelists for failing to present a "true" picture of American life and the American business man, and who persist in trying to hold the cracked mirror of naturalism up to a world which has ceased long ago to exist in its terms. Of the best older historical critics only a very few have managed to escape this kind of debasement and to continue working productively in a tradition which, in a sense, they have already outlived. Edmund Wilson is one of these, and Malcolm Cowley is another. Wilson, however, was from the beginning something of a special case, for while he remained essentially faithful to the principle of the historical method, his wide range of intellectual interests carried him well beyond its programmatic confines. Malcolm Cowley, while he has been enriched by the aesthetic tradition of Coleridge, Baudelaire, and Eliot, has remained intellectually and temperamentally the more resolute historian. In his two book-length works of prose, "Exile's Return" and the present "The Literary Situation," it is possible to see that his weaknesses are in very large part those of the historical method itself, and that his strengths are those which he has brought to his prose out of the resources of his poetic imagination.

"Exile's Return," first published in 1934 and reissued in revised and expanded form in 1951, was an autobiographical narrative of development cast in the framework of a historical account of the literary twenties and thirties. But it was first and foremost a work of personal history conceived poetically, with all the vividness of a deeply felt emotional experience. Although it had to do with fashions of thought and conduct, with the moment and milieu of a literary movement, it was dramatized both by the vigor and complexity of the subject itself and by the intensity of Cowley's own participation in it. The fashions were treated as if they were characters in a first-rate fiction—as, for that matter, were the real-life literary figures whose activities afforded the book its wealth of anecdotal material. And since Cowley's concern was not with ideas as such or with the artistic properties of individual literary works, nothing in his subject defied his poet's talent for reducing experience to the simple, the pictorial, and the concrete. No intellectual abstraction, no call upon his powers of precise critical judgment, forced him to expose the weakness which on the occasion of his first book of poems, "Blue Juniata," published a few years earlier, Allen Tate had found evident in him. "No American at present," said Tate in a *New Republic* review, "writes a more lucid prose than Cowley, and yet it is now clear that prose, certainly critical prose, is not his true medium. His mind is basically concrete and unspeculative; he brings to facts and observations an even emotional tone that is the mark of a genuine style; but in criticism Cowley's instinct for exact definition is not strong; and the necessity for a certain amount of abstraction only violates the even tone of his style." It was the poet in Cowley who was responsible for the lucid prose of which Tate speaks, and it was because Cowley was able through that prose to personalize and lyricize his historical subject in "Exile's Return" that the book remained free of the defects inherent in his essentially historical method.

BUT Cowley's handling of a similarly historical subject in "The Literary Situation" gives rise to questions which cannot be so easily or so pleasantly resolved. His subject is the condition of literature and of the creative spirit in this country at the present time, and as his thesis demonstrates, that condition is largely one of stasis and retrenchment and is thus not in itself very stimulating. Cowley, furthermore, obviously does not have a sense of being personally caught up in it. His experience of active emotional participation in the literary life apparently came to an end with the period which he documented in "Exile's Return," and of late years he has retreated more and more into seclusion; his point of view has grown increasingly elder statesmanish; and his tone has undergone a gradual change from the lyric to the avuncular. What happens now in literature clearly seems to him to be happening to other people and no longer to himself or his friends.

His dilemma in this new book, therefore, is that he cannot, on the one hand, count on his subject to dramatize itself through its own dramatic properties, and, because he feels no personal or imaginative connection with it, cannot, on the

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other hand, count on his poetic gifts to dramatize it for him. He is also up against the difficulty that as his sense of involvement has faded, these gifts seem themselves to have faded, leaving him out in the cold with nothing but a style. It it still the lucid style which Allen Tate admired, but it is no longer lucid in the same way. Where in the past it had the lucidity which the poet achieves in forcing his strong and complex feelings under tension into form, it now appears to have the lucidity of a simple and rather tired view of experience, of complexities shunned and tensions abdicated. In the face of this, Cowley has had to fall back for support upon the only method of prose narration he knows, and that is the horizontal and classificatory method. Throughout the book he has substituted tabulation for analysis, an enumeration of trends for a definition of causes, categorical labels for critical insights, lists of book titles, statistics on the paper-backed publishing industry, a "natural history" of the personal habits of writers, for a comprehensive synthesis of the facts behind the literary situation today.

PERHAPS more completely than any other journalistic critic of his generation, Cowley had in his grasp the materials out of which such a synthesis could have been made, for he has at least read the literature of our time and has been required professionally to hold informed opinions on it. Instead, what we get from him is a kind of plodding, rural stubbornness in the face of abstract ideas, a penchant for dropping into his private memory hole whatever he cannot assimilate to his method or fully understand, a compulsion to reduce everything to the hard oversimplicity of bedrock—a compulsion which blinds him to the possibility that bedrock is at best merely a foundation and at worst merely an affectation. His mask is that of the kindly old share-cropper of letters who happens to write when the weather is too inclement for plowing or duck hunting—clearly a disguise to cover a certain queasiness before the moral combat of cognition.

At intervals throughout his book Cowley makes use of another kind of mask which affords us our angle of vision into much of his material and illustrates far more tellingly than his rusticity of tone the evasive attitude he takes toward his responsibilities as critic. This is the mask of the uninitiated foreign observer—Cowley's choice is a "cultivated Hindu sociologist"—who is stationed at the edge of the current literary arena and through whose innocent eyes Cowley invites us to view the spectacle unfolding in its center. This mask provides Cowley with an excuse for shirking the job of careful and thorough discussion which, if he were doing the seeing through his own eyes, he would be expected to perform. Faced with the problem of exploring in detail the works and trends fundamental to the literary situation, of really taking up the burden of criticism, he is able through his Hindu proxy to escape into the more relaxed role of historian and statistician of the obvious. His typical method is to draw up lists of novels and then to create an illusion of definition by stating that twenty-eight of them have to do with war in the Pacific, nineteen with homosexuality, and seventy-two with life in the urban slums. "I counted," he informs us at one point, "the romantic or tragic love stories in ten of these earlier books [war novels]. Of the affairs that go beyond the category of

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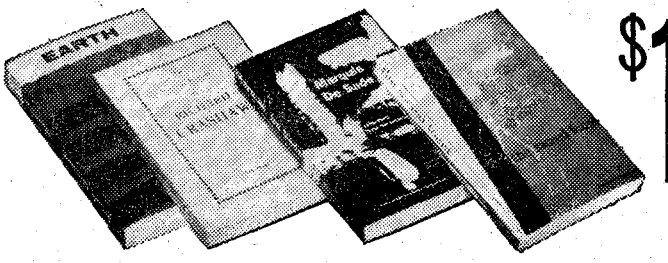

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merely Having Sex, there are four with Italians, two with Germans . . . two with Frenchwomen (of whom one is half Javanese), one with a Tonkinese, one with a New Zealander, and one with a Japanese."

It would be different if this kind of thing were supplementary to an examination of the real meaning and worth of these novels, but when it constitutes very nearly the whole of what Cowley has to say about them, I believe one has a right to complain. This same approach, or variations of it, vitiates almost to the point of absurdity all those sections of the book having to do with the literary situation as such. It is only in the chapters setting forth the Natural History of the American Writer, where Cowley is not required to go beyond simple statistics and categories—so many writers live in Connecticut; some writers drink six pints of gin a day, but only when they are engaged on very long work; most of the writers who are not teachers are employed at other jobs; a number of writers are homosexual; at least one is a sadist; a lot are normal—it is only in these chapters that he is as informative and entertaining as one would expect him to be throughout.

After thinking back over Cowley's critical career and setting aside those fine and definitive essays on writers like Hemingway and Faulkner which he has occasionally been able to do, one is forced to conclude that he has suffered increasingly from the effect of trying to simplify his ideas for the benefit of what he obviously considers a simple-minded reading public. It is now clear that after more than twenty years of unremitting industry he has at last attained his objective. But we should also remember that Cowley really belongs to a literary period different from and older than ours, the period he described so well in "Exile's Return," when, as Lionel Trilling once remarked, "criticism existed in heroic practical simplicity." Cowley should be reminded now, at this crucial stage in his career, that criticism is no longer simple, and that its heroism today consists in facing squarely and intelligently the full complexities of the literary situation in which we live.

Devil, Prophet, Artist

THE INTELLIGENT HEART. The Story of D. H. Lawrence, By Harry T. Moore. Farrar, Straus and Young. $6.50.

By Maxwell Geismar

I NOTE that some reviewers have dismissed this new biography of D. H. Lawrence with faint praise. It is, particularly in the early sections, a pedestrian job of writing, crammed with facts, solemn in tone. Yet Lawrence was a great figure, and his brief life had enough in it to fill up a dozen ordinary biographies. (This is Mr. Moore's second attempt, and he may still try again.) Lawrence appears to be, more and more clearly, the last major English writer of our day; and he almost brought the whole structure of English letters toppling down on him.

He went out of his way to influence people and make enemies. At one time he told Katherine Mansfield, who really appreciated his writing, that her illness repelled him and she should stop wallowing in her consumption. He believed in bringing hostility to the surface; he preferred a healthy hatred to a false love. Norman Douglas, who had called him "an inspired provincial with marked puritanical leanings," he could not bear. The Cambridge-Bloomsbury group he had despised from the beginning. Bertrand Russell was the epitome of the immaculate mind. If the official English persecution of Lawrence during the First World War was a tragedy, the episode of Mabel Dodge Luhan "willing" Lawrence to come to Taos, and rushing off to her analyst when he didn't, is high comedy.

There was also Lady Brett and her earphone, whom Lawrence at least tolerated. Nor did Frieda Lawrence, guarding her genius when she was not breaking plates over his head, help matters much; but this usually amused the prophet of the dark cult of the blood, who would then put all these experiences—and his friends—into fiction, sometimes etched in pure malice. Mr. Moore makes a point of denying most of the charges brought against Lawrence in the long list of books written by his former disciples, or open enemies, after a lifetime of outrageous behavior in person and in print. Lawrence was not, he says, an Oedipal child, although there is no doubt his mother destroyed the first love affair that gave birth to "Sons and Lovers." Lawrence did not have homosexual tendencies, though he advocated physical masculine relationships in the mode of Walt Whitman. "If I love you, and you know I love you, isn't that enough?" asked John Middleton Murry. "I hate your love, I *hate* it," said Lawrence. "You're an obscene bug, sucking my life away."

Similarly, declares Mr. Moore, Lawrence was not a proto-fascist, though he had nothing but contempt for democracy and advocated the philosophy of the strong man, and the leader. It would be simpler, I think, to state flatly that to some degree Lawrence *was* all these things, and that he made the categories meaningless by riding through them and transforming them for his own creative purposes. His central vision was based on the sexual impulses of life: the "phallic reality" as against mere cerebral consciousness, or what Lawrence believed to be mechanized human relationships, and the social institutions which had formed them. From this sprang his mystique of the death and resurrection which had to be suffered by the solitary individual who was opposed to the standardization and degradation of true human feelings.

He thus stood outside such issues as labor and capital, both corrupted by the same murderous impulses of modern civilization; just as today we are coming to realize that the similarities between Russia and the United States may in the end be more frightening than the differences. And to Lawrence a machine society could lead only to universal destruction. England was a "dreary-gray coffin sinking in the sea" to the hero of "Kangaroo," who had loved it so bitterly. "I won't have another war," Lawrence said, while he carried on his battle against "these foul machines and contri-

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MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "Rebels and Ancestors" and other books of literary criticism.*

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vances that men have conjured up," and that men still had one last chance to conjure down again. "I am not one man," he cried, "I am many, I am most."

The epoch of the atom bomb is simply the final stage of the social processes which Lawrence protested and felt so personally. And maybe the English suppression of "The Rainbow," of "Lady Chatterley's Lover," of the poems called "Pansies," of Lawrence's paintings, was based on the wrong reason. They were not dangerous sexually — they were healthy if sometimes infantile — but they were socially more revolutionary than the Fabian tracts. By the early 1930's, indeed, Lawrence was so far outside his society that some of his revelations were terrifying. If his own, his native land now left him just "flabbergasted," there was the same dreadful discontent with all the other countries, modern or primitive, which he had visited. No more Indians, he said after his Mexican novel, "The Plumed Serpent," a publisher's title that he despised. "I feel so weary of *people*," he wrote to a friend. He believed that his tuberculosis had come from chagrin—"chagrin that goes deep in and comes out afterward in hemorrhage or what not."

There was another brilliant insight about himself. "What ails me is the absolute frustration of my primeval societal instinct," he told an American psychologist—an instinct and a repression he considered even deeper than sex. But in stressing the cerebral activity of this phallic worshiper, I don't mean to suggest that he was primarily a philosopher. Of the three Lawrences that Mr. Moore presents—the black devil, the prophet, and the artist—it is the artist who continually enlightens and entertains us in the solid pages of this biography. It is the texture of Lawrence's daily response to life that matters, as well as his final judgments. And we are grateful to Mr. Moore for presenting so many facets of Lawrence's career; there can never be too much of it.

Films

Robert Hatch

WHEN John J. MacReedy, middle-aged, a little seedy, carrying a small suitcase in his right hand and with the hand of his paralyzed left arm stuffed in his coat pocket, steps off the coast-bound streamliner at a desert crossroads named Black Rock, his objective is the peacetul fulfilment of a private obligation. But the scant dozen inhabitants of this dust-bitten cinder-block and clapboard community face him with a mixture of terror and hatred that first confuses, then angers him. Mr. MacReedy, it appears, is a rare bird these days — he is a strong believer in due process with both the leisure and the courage to defend his principles.

This is "Bad Day at Black Rock," produced by Dory Schary and directed by John Sturges for M-G-M. Spencer Tracy plays Mr. MacReedy and Robert Ryan, as always narrow-eyed and smiling, is a rancher who gives the orders in Black Rock. They are sturdily supported by a cast that includes Dean Jagger, Walter Brennan, John Ericson, and Lee Marvin. It is a tight, economical work, directed and acted with conviction, and it enlarges the stature of everyone connected with it.

The obvious picture of comparison is "High Noon." Both are suspense thrillers with an evident moral; both center upon the behavior of a man isolated by mortal danger; both work toward a blazing climax through an atmosphere of hair-trigger calm. The new picture is the better by a variety of measurements. Spencer Tracy offers a more complex, contradictory, witty, and therefore more interesting impersonation than did Gary Cooper. The conflict in "Bad Day at Black Rock" is less explicit, and the weight and determination of the opposing forces are less arbitrarily stated than the rather pat duel of "High Noon." The suspense is therefore much tighter; it increases with the shifting and hardening resolution of the performers and is not a mechanical excitement keyed to the ticking of a clock.

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CAN THE CHURCH LIVE ON HALF THE GOSPEL?

Social justice and individual righteousness are both emphasized in the gospel of the Bible. But for some mysterious reason, the social-justice phase was abandoned when the doctrine of One God began to spread beyond the frontiers of Palestine. In other words, the God of Social Justice was put out of the church picture by the God of Righteousness, who employed all the apparatus of dogmatic theology in pursuit of the individual sinner.

The war between social justice and personal righteousness is exemplified in the ancient church by two ecclesiastical figures, both of them Bishops. The first was the Bishop of Constantinople. He was a disciple of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. This Bishop vigorously denounced the political and economic conditions in Constantinople. He refused to make full use of the episcopal palace, and occupied only a small corner of it. The result was that his clergy drove him out of Constantinople into the country, where he died a martyr. This man is known in Church History as ST. CHRYSOSTOM. His real character has been thrust into the background; and he has been played up simply as a writer of hymns.

The other figure was the Bishop of Hippo, who knew all about Righteousness, but nothing about Social Justice. This man reduced theology to written form, and is known to Church History as ST. AUGUSTINE. His theology is at the basis of church doctrine, Protestant and Catholic. He helped to banish the God of Social Justice; and he promoted the enthronement of the stern, aristocratic God of Righteousness, who became normal in ecclesiastical tradition, and who is perfectly "safe" in the realm of Things As They Are.

Righteousness long ago succeeded in putting Social Justice into the category of "worldly matters." But today there is revolt against this impious tendency. The Papal Chair, in particular, has been re-defining Doctrine so as to emphasize Social Justice while rghtly excludng socialism and communism. The laity — Protestant and Catholic — can be counted upon to support sane reform which avoids atheism and Marxism. "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God" is the title of a new circular which will be sent to you free upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. Your name and address should be clearly written, or better printed. There has been some difficulty about this; and some circulars have gone astray. Always put your return home, or office, address on the outside of envelope. Most persons requesting the circular are careful to send the stamp. When no stamp is sent, no circular is forwarded. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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"Bad Day at Black Rock," finally, affirms democracy, and I prefer that conclusion to the rather petulant rejection of it that was at the core of "High Noon."

Not that too much should be made of the moral of "Black Rock." It is primarily a melodramatic entertainment, and its situations are not entirely plausible or its events always unmanipulated. Mr. MacReedy is a much more dangerous opponent than the bullies of Black Rock—or the audience—have any reason to suspect: meek little men with only one good arm do not usually turn out to be efficient killers and more than a match for a gang of heavyweight hoodlums. And MacReedy enjoys the further advantages that his enemies are stupid and that amiable cowards become intrepid allies when fortified by his stern glance. Even so, the fable may not be too far-fetched. We have seen again recently that there is more brass than brains in demagogy, and the inoffensive good citizen may underestimate his retaliatory fire power.

"HOLIDAY FOR HENRIETTA" is a lark by one of the surest picture smiths in France. Its machinery has been used by countless hard-pressed schoolboys—an essay entitled "On the Difficulty of Writing an Essay" —and in other hands the picture might have collapsed of coy senility. But Julien Duvivier boils his pot with style and wit.

Two script writers, learning that the censor has rejected their current text as impossibly "blue" in substance and detail, must concoct and execute a complete new story over a week-end. One of the collaborators, models himself at some distance on Hollywood. He favors screen drama based on insanity, narcotics, untidy passion, wild chase, and a generous distribution of corpses. His companion, by comparison—but really only by comparison—a sophisticate, adheres to the Continental style that fabricates theater out of small happenstances actually observed. A boy and a girl trying to be sure of each other's love in Paris on the Fourteenth of July will do very nicely.

As the co-authors write, dictating at the top of their lungs and talents, their two versions—one paranoid, the other wistful—are acted out in

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alternate episodes. The narrative that finally prevails has a thin but pretty life of its own; the participants—Dany Robin, Hildegarde Neff, Michel Auclair, and Michel Roux—are amused and amusing performers. At the same time, the picture mocks gently, not only at hollywood, but at the manners and preoccupations of a handful of the leading Continental directors. Clair De Sica, Cocteau, and Duviver himself are certainly being spoofed and there are probably others. "Holiday for Henrietta" is talented tomfoolery.

GRETA GARBO'S "Camille" is being revived in New York and, I understand, in other cities. This is no doubt a result of the "Garbo story" published by *Life,* and the public owes thanks to the magazine.

"Camille" is not a very good picture. It is a slow and rather lifeless retelling of the Dumas romance. Some of the roles are well acted, but Robert Taylor's Armand Duval has no more passion that a carp. None of this is of any importance; Garbo is the picture and she is a beautiful woman and a great actress. She was such a generous actress! She gave herself completely to the part and the audience, and she had so much to offer—love and pain and irony and tenderness—that she exposes the gifts of the easier screen nymphs for the lollipops they are.

In recent years Garbo has become a sad and enigmatic myth. People are forever sniffing at her career, trying to uncover the clues to its strangeness, complaining because she has shut herself away. It is certainly tragic, and the tragedy must have come in part from within Garbo herself. But it also came because neither the studios nor the public were prepared for this level of talent. Trained performers dispensing labeled goods were easily accepted and quickly understood. Garbo was accepted, too; she was deified—but on terribly debased terms. She was the Scandinavian siren, the only public figure who could say less than Calvin Coolidge. This laconic sex-boat is no kin to the great and demanding woman who appears on the screen. Perhaps Garbo was at fault to leave us, but she had provocation. "Camille" should be seen—not to solve the riddle but to marvel at the genius.

Music

B. H. Haggin

AT its second concert in Carnegie Hall the Symphony of the Air (formerly the NBC Symphony) was conducted by Leonard Bernstein; and if one of the pleasures of the occasion was hearing again the refined beauty of sonority, the precision and finish, and with these the sensitiveness and flexibility of this great orchestra, another pleasure was to observe the improved operation of Bernstein as a conductor that had something to do with the orchestra's playing as it did. Even the sumptuous-toned Philadelphia Orchestra sounded dry when it played under him a few years ago; and the warm, lustrous sound this time seemed to me to be connected with the relaxed spaciousness that one heard in the performances, and that contributed to the tremendous power Bernstein achieved in the performance of Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5. The other works were Copland's engaging "Appalachian Spring" and Hindesmith's Clarinet Concerto—as arid and empty and unattractive a piece of note-spinning as Hindemith has ever turned out—with Benny Goodman, for whom it was written, as soloist. Possibly there would have been a few less empty seats if Goodman had played the Mozart Clarinet Concerto instead.

My comments on "House of Flowers" are concerned only with the music and dancing, I didn't hear "Indoor Girl," with which I was told Pearl Bailey was stopping the show; but the combinations of Howard Arlen melody and Arlen-Capote lyric that I did hear I found delightful. What I thought I recognized as the remains of Balanchine's work—the dance for "Two Ladies in

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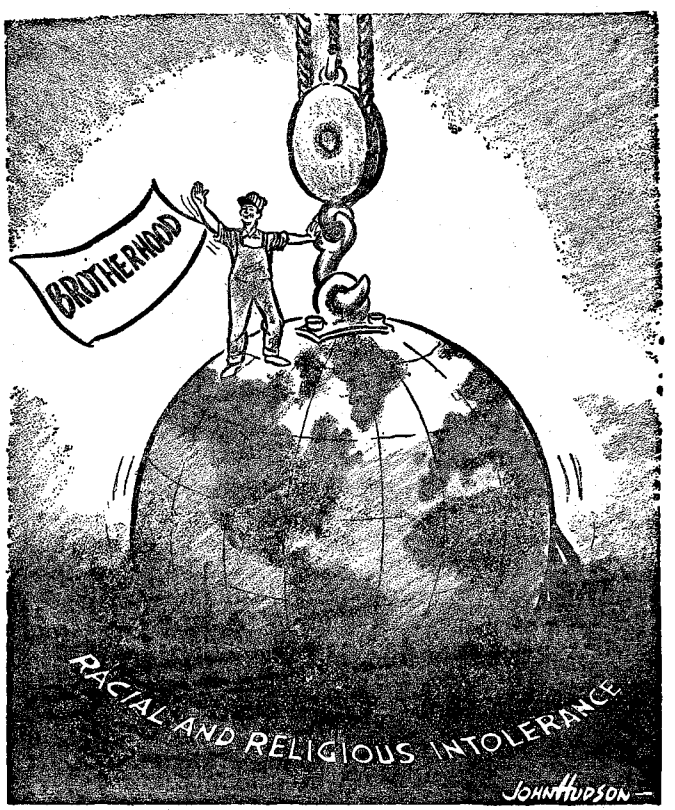

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de Shade of de Banana Tree," the processions in front of the curtain and around the stage for the cock fight and Mardi Gras, and the Octopus, Shark, and Turtle summoned by the Duchess of the Sea in the voodoo scene—I liked; Geoffrey Holder's Banda dance was remarkable in its special way; the big dance numbers created by Herbert Ross for the Mardi Gras and "Slide, Boy, Slide" I did not like.

When the Toscanini recording of Verdi's "Otello" was issued I said it wasn't likely that the orchestral part had ever been played with such precision and refinement of execution, such beauty and refinement of tone, as it was by the NBC Symphony under his direction. Nor was it likely that, except in other Toscanini performances, the vocal parts had been sung with such accuracy and such refinement of style—these in addition to the remarkable beauty and expressive inflection and coloring of Valdengo's singing as Iago, the purity and loveliness of Nelli's singing as Desdemona, the fine singing of Vinay as Otello at the times—notably in the third act—when he achieved delicacy without disturbing effort, and ringing sonority without a disturbing quaver. Nor, finally, was it likely that, except in other Toscanini performances, the vocal and orchestral parts had been integrated so precisely in a progression so completely achieved and finished, so unfailingly continuous in impetus, tension, and shape, so hair-raising in intensity and power.

I might have added that it wasn't likely that we would get these things from future performances; and I must now report that we don't get most of them from the performance on London LLA-24. The Santa Cecilia Orchestra is not of the caliber of the NBC Symphony, and under Erede's direction it doesn't achieve playing of the orchestral part like the NBC Symphony's under Toscanini. Nor does Erede produce a progression of singing and playing with the integration, the continuity of shape and tension, the intensity and power of Toscanini's. Erede conducts a singers' performance; but del Monaco, the Otello, when he sings softly—as in *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* — produces unpleasantly rough and rasping sounds that make one prefer his hard-voiced yelling; Protti, the Iago, exhibits nothing like the beauty or the expressive coloring of Valdengo's singing; and only from Tebaldi, the Desdemona, do we get the lovely singing that is the one thing this performance offers.

De Sabata's performance of Verdi's Requiem on Angel 3520-B disappoints my expectations based on his great Cetra performance of Mozart's Requiem. The Dies irae, the Sanctus, and the concluding fugue of the Libera me (after a slow beginning) are the only parts that move in correct and effective tempo. Everything else—in disregard of the metronome markings with which Verdi tries to enforce directions like Andante and Allegro—is stretched and dragged out ponderously and lugubriously by excessively slow tempos. In addition de Sabata does a lot of fussing—e.g. in the trumpet passage at the beginning of the Tuba mirum; and under these circumstances it isn't surprising that Schwarzkopf does a little of *her* fussing — even, so help me, her pouting, and, in her final *Libera me, Domine de morta aeterna, in die illa tremenda,* her whispering and gasping—or that di Stefano sobs in the Ingemisco. The other soloists are Siepi and a mezzo-soprano, Oralia Dominguez, whose voice lacks warmth but is steady.

What They Say About

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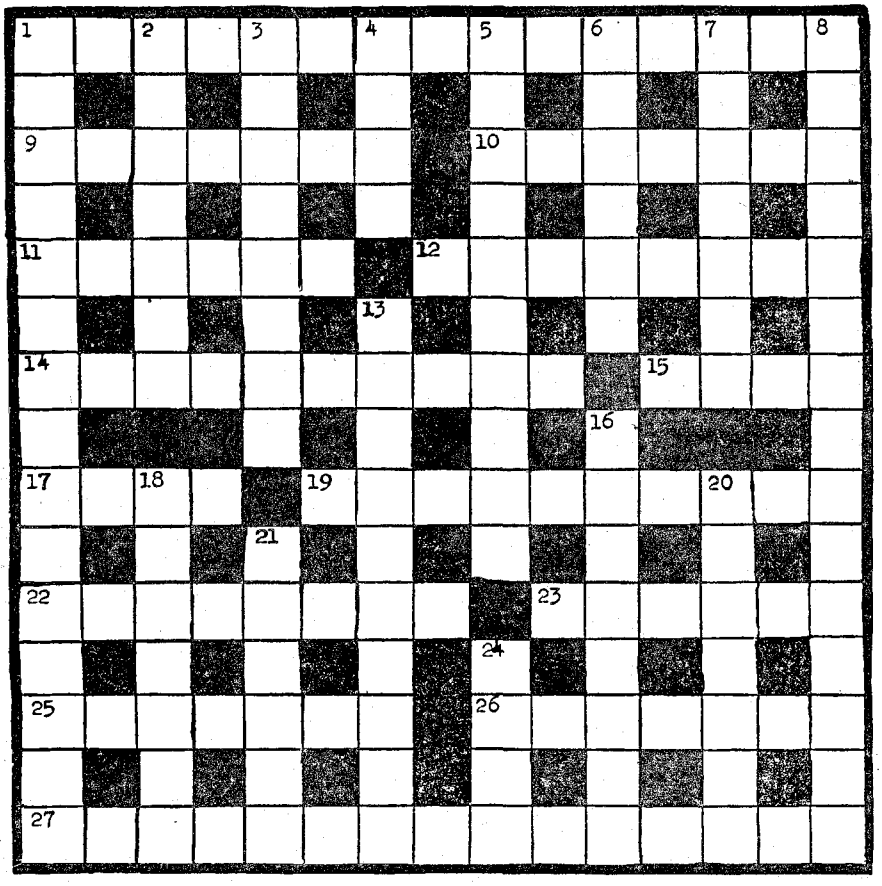
Crossword Puzzle No. 607

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Such things in Washington Merry-Go-Round might be creditable! (7, 8)
9 and 24 down The full course? (5, 2, 4)
10 Like one with a shake? (7)
11 Put to death by the Huns at Cologne. (6)
12 One is had by stick-to-it-iveness. (8)
14 A tear to bring to bear about, ostensibly. (10)
15 Not the hero of "Wild Rice." (4)
17 If this has nothing to eat, in a way, it's just begun. (4)
19 Take a wrong heading, get a book instead. (3, 3, 3, 1)
22 Long beer in France. (8)
23 Put on. (6)
25 A Russian plane in unusually rare surroundings for the squire. (7)
26 Ran it wrong in a railroad gauge, somewhat provincially. (7)
27 Direct a patient headed right this way? (15)

DOWN

1 Evidently the sports enthusiasts are milling about. (11, 4)
2 Acts like the boy at the dike. (5, 2)
3 They come after crawlers. (8)
4 and 13 Implying a rolling port? (4, 2, 3, 5)
5 It has light branches. (10)
6 Drupes, active in the bone. (6)
7 Dig that more crazy row of fruit! (7)
8 A period with time for its synonym. (6, 9)
13 See 4 down.
16 Silver? You'll find it a mount thereafter. (8)
18 Skimmer? (7)
20 Where Lagos is capital. (7)
21 He had something in common with Remus. (6)
24 See 9 across.

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 606

ACROSS: 1 FACED; 4 LONG'S PEAK; 9 CONSTRAIN; 10 ORGAN; 11 ANDANTINO; 12 and 21 PLAIN TALES; 14 EGOMANIACS; 17 GOLF COURSE; 22 SHIPSHAPE; 23 TETRA; 24 INKEEPER; 25 DISCERNED; 26 TILED. DOWN: 1 FACIAL; 2 CANADA; 3 DOTING; 4 LEADING QUESTION; 5 NON-COMMISSIONED; 6 SHOPPING; 7 EGG SALAD; 8 KINDNESS; 14 AGITATED; 15 ULULATES; 16 ICE SKATE; 18 ASPECT; 19 CARPAL; 20 GEARED.

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